

## Message Text

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53

ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AID-05 OMB-01 /073 W  
----- 108108

R 211155Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0009

INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

AMCONSUL CHIANG MAI

AMCONSUL UDORN

CINCPAC HONOLULU

USSAG NAKHON PHANOM

DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGKOK 1135

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PINT, TH

SUBJ: ELECTION FORECAST: BY PARTY

REF: BANGKOK 1134

1. ALL FACTORS CONSIDERED, WE PREDICT THAT THE CONSERVATIVE PARTIES,  
WITH SOCIAL JUSTICE LEADING, WILL WIN THE LARGEST BLOC OF SEATS IN  
THE 26 JANUARY 1975 ELECTIONS. NINETEEN OF THE 42 CONTENDING  
POLITICAL PARTIES MAY SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO PARLIAMENT. NO SINGLE  
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PARTY WILL BE ANYWHERE NEAR THE PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY OF 135

SEATS. WHILE SOCIAL JUSTICE SHOULD ACQUIRE SOME 54 SEATS, THE NEXT LARGEST POLITICAL GROUPINGS SHOULD BE THE DEMOCRAT AND THAI NATION WITH AROUND 45 APIECE. SOCIAL AGRARIAN AND SOCIAL NATIONALIST SHOULD HAVE THE NEXT MOST SIGNIFICANT REPRESENTATION. THE LEFTIST PARTIES MAY TOTAL ONLY 18 SEATS. OTHER PARTIES WILL HAVE A SMALL, BUT BEDEVILING, REPRESENTATION.

2. AFTER LOOKING AT EACH OF THE 269 CONTESTS IN THE THAI PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION, WE HAVE DRAWN THE FOLLOWING RESULTS FROM OUR MURKY CRYSTAL BALL:

SEATS	APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGE	
	OF 269	
SOCIAL JUSTICE	54	20
DEMOCRAT	45	15
THAI NATION	44	15
SOCIAL AGRARIAN	32	12
SOCIAL NATIONALIST	25	10
SOCIAL ACTION	17	7
NEW FORCE	10	3
PEOPLES' JUSTICE	9	3
SOCIALIST PARTY	9	3
SOCIALIST UNITED FRONT	9	3
PEACEFUL PEOPLE	5	2
OTHERS	10	3
DEMOCRACY	(3)	
LABOR	(2)	
THAI	(1)	
SOVEREIGNTY	(1)	
SOCIAL PROGRESS	(1)	
ECONOMIST	(1)	
GOLDEN PENINSULA	(1)	
TOTAL	269	

3. IN ARRIVING AT THE ABOVE FORECAST, WE NOTICED THAT MOST SOCIAL JUSTICE, THAI NATION, AND SOCIAL AGRARIAN CANDIDATES COME FROM NORTHEAST AND CENTRAL THAILAND. ALL THREE PARTIES ALSO STAND TO DO WELL IN NORTH THAILAND. BANGKOK, HOWEVER, IS VIRTUALLY AN ELECTORAL DESERT FOR THESE PARTIES. THE DEMOCRATS DRAW STRENGTH FROM THE SOUTH, NORTH, AND BANGKOK. SOCIAL ACTION AND NEW FORCE PARTIES GAIN MOST OF THEIR SUPPORT FROM THE

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NORTHEAST AND BANGKOK. THE LEFTIST PARTIES ARE ALMOST PURELY A NORTHEASTERN PHENOMENON.

4. OUR ESTIMATES SUGGEST THAT THE PARTIES WHICH DO NOT JOIN THE GOVERNING COALITION WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO USE THE INNOVATIVE, CONSTITUTIONAL DEVICE OF A FORMALIZED OPPOSITION TO ENHANCE THEIR STANDING. THESE PARTIES WILL BE TOO SMALL. THE 1974 CONSTITUTION DESIGNATES THE PARLIAMENTARY LEADER OF A NON-

GOVERNMENT PARTY AS THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION, IF HIS PARTY HAS 54 PARLIAMENTARY SEATS.

5. THE ABOVE LISTING SUGGESTS THAT THE PARTIES WHICH ARE THE REMAKES OF THE FORMER REGIME'S UNITED THAI PEOPLES PARTY (SOCIAL JUSTICE, THAI NATION, SOCIAL AGRARIAN, AND SOCIAL NATIONALIST) WILL JOINTLY HAVE 154 VOTES, A COMFORTABLE MARGIN OVER THE 135 SEATS REQUIRED FOR A PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY. IF THESE PARTIES COOPERATE, THEY WILL FORM THE NEXT THAI GOVERNMENT. WHATEVER THE EXACT OUTCOME OF THE ELECTION, THE NEXT GOVERNMENT WILL BE A COALITION, THOUGH OF ESSENTIALLY LIKE-MINDED PEOPLE.  
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